1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

The primary economic units in Nyakyusa society are the kinship groups—the elementary family, the cattle-owning lineage, and the group of cognates who co-operate in production and exchange many gifts, and among whom cattle circulate.[1] However, fellow villagers also work together, exchange food, and have a common interest in certain property.

a. *Land*

The village is the land-holding group. As we have seen, land is allocated to a boys' village, at its commencement, by the parent village, that is the village to which the fathers of most of the boys belong. Little boys' huts are usually to be seen going up on a strip of pasture-land, adjoining the block of banana groves which shroud their fathers' houses. The boys' land is primarily a building site, but very soon after moving into their huts they turn over the ground and plant banana suckers (*vide* Plate II). Bananas begin to bear very quickly, and so in a little more than a year after the establishment of a boys' village, its members have bananas of their own, which they cook for themselves and eat with their friends at odd times during the day. But they have, as yet, no fields, for the cultivation of fields requires the co-operation of a wife. Bachelors continue to eat their main meals at their parents' village. As the boys grow up and marry they begin to cultivate garden-land adjacent to their village. Some of these gardens are acquired by individuals from their own fathers and fathers-in-law, but whether there may also be a block grant of garden-land by the parent village as a whole to the boys' village as a whole we are not certain. In any case the land of boys' villages is limited, and at the 'coming out'-the old men move aside and the young men enter their inheritance. The allotment to each village is

[1] cf. Monica Wilson, 'Nyakyusa Kinship' in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by A. R. Radcliffe Brown and Daryll Forde.

2: Wilson, E-S (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

585
245
482
341

5. Shaving the bride

[facing p 100]

5:Wilson E-S (1934-1938)1938 FM17 Ngonde FM17
Nyakyusa

some chiefdom in which the trees were growing; for between chiefdoms an actual or potential state of war always existed, and a man coming from a hostile group to claim property would have been driven away violently. But to-day under European rule it is now customary for a man to cut his own bamboos, if he is living in a neighbouring chiefdom, instead of leaving them to his resident kinsfolk. The group within which property can be held is gradually widening.

Such is the custom among the Kukwe and Selya groups; their rights in bamboos and *ipangati* trees are not normally lost when a man moves provided there are kinsfolk left nearby to exercise them. The one exception to this rule is in the case of expulsion for witchcraft or other serious crime. Then even if the man expelled has left kinsfolk behind him, still the chief takes his trees.

Among the Nyakyusa proper, on the other hand, the *ipangati* trees are treated like bamboos. When a man moves he loses all rights in them and, unless the chief steps in to take them, as he always may, they are granted by the great-commoner, together with the soil, to the newcomer who is put on that site. Bamboos, as in Selya and Kukwe country, continue to belong to the kinsmen of the man who has moved.[1]

Trees introduced by the Europeans, of which coffee trees are the most valuable, have been declared by the Federation of Chiefs to be the property of the planter, even although he has moved to a different chiefdom. This law was made after much anxious discussion between the chiefs, the Administration and the Agricultural Department and is, of course, subject to revision if it is found after trial to be impracticable. In the case of coffee it has inevitably been modified in practice since coffee must be tended continuously if it is to remain free from pests and to bear fruit, and any man who actually looks after coffee trees has a generally admitted claim to the crop unless he is paid by the planter for his labour. The planter, however, in surrendering the trees to him may compel him to pay something for their initial value.

Further, as the Agricultural Officer has the right to uproot any untended coffee trees and must exercise it if pests are to be kept under control, the practice has grown up of his taking over any large number of abandoned trees and keeping them clean with labour paid by the Native Treasury; the trees are subsequently sold to some other man and the proceeds paid into the Native Treasury again. If, however, a planter of coffee trees makes arrangements, when he moves, for the cleaning of his coffee then the trees remain his own.

[1] Some informants deny this and insist that they always pass to the chief. I was not myself long in Mwaipondo among the Nyakyusa proper and I lack conclusive evidence on the point.

8: Wilson E-5 (1934-1936)1936 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

621 others as well. Any boys' village is found to consist primarily of the
661 sons of the members of some older village who originally gave the land
for its building, but as we shall see later sons of other villages live there
too.

621 In the beginning, when a group of boys starts a new age-village, or
762 when boys join one already formed, they do not all have a hut to them-
selves, two or three friends share a hut. But later, as they grow older,
each builds for himself. The younger ones build their huts of reeds,
but the older ones try to get a few bamboos from their fathers or senior
relatives and build more solid houses. Married men build entirely of
bamboo, but often in a boys' village you will find a compromise between
bamboo and reed, both being used in the same house; and the houses of
bachelors, even though they be all of bamboo, are smaller than those of
married men. The technique of good building is not very difficult, and
the older boys instruct and help their juniors, as they join the village, to
improve the skill playfully acquired as herd-boys so as to build more
substantial huts.

● 245 The chief food of the Nyakyusa is the banana; men plant bananas
262 immediately round their huts, though their fields are mostly at a distance.
And bachelors, while they continue to eat their main meals at their
parents' village, plant bananas round their own huts as well. Bananas
begin to bear very quickly, sometimes within a year of planting, and so,
soon after the establishment of a boys' village, its members have bananas
of their own, which they cook for themselves and eat with their friends at
odd times during the day. But they have as yet no fields.

264 There is no formal initiation of boys at puberty; but, on the other
281 hand, the custom of leaving home and joining a boys' village is directly
577 connected by the Nyakyusa with their ideas of decency in sexual life.
They think it is perfectly all right to discuss sex openly among friends of
about the same age but altogether wrong to discuss it either in the presence
of, or with, their parents or those of their parents' generation. If a boy
learns about love-making, in any way, from his parents the Nyakyusa
think that he will not respect them properly and that he himself will be a
fool. A boy must learn these things from his immediate seniors and
friends. One man said to me: "If a boy after about ten years old
stays at home to sleep, he is laughed at by his friends and his own parents
send him away. They say: 'If he sleeps at home he will hear what his
parents talk about at night, the night is always full of lewd talk; and he
may even see them undressing. He will grow up a fool, with little
wisdom.' You see at the boys' village" he went on to say, "the older

ID:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955)958 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

and try to understand the nature and reasons for change. Here, then, is a good opportunity for the study of social change – not only in land tenure as such, but also in village and family organization, political authority and economic life.

II

The Nyakyusa are a Bantu people inhabiting the main part of the Rungwe District in southern Tanganyika, immediately to the north of Lake Nyasa. In 1948 they numbered about 199,000 in that District, but about 10,000 men were probably at the time temporarily absent from their homes and in employment in the mines and towns of the Rhodesias and South Africa (see Gulliver, 1957), whilst about 20,000 had migrated to live in the adjacent Mbeya District to the north.

The tribal area comprises a confined geographical basin surrounding the northern end of Lake Nyasa. It extends only about 40 miles from the tip of the lake at 1,550 feet above sea level to the Poroto Mountains in the north at 8,000 feet; and from east to west is only about 30 miles, from the almost sheer walls of the Livingstone Mountains (with peaks up to 10,000 feet) to the Ndali Highlands rising to about 7,000 feet). There are therefore unusually large ecological differences within so small an area. Three major regions are to be distinguished: the "Northern Highlands" over about 4,500 feet, the low-lying "Lake Plains" in the south, and the "Central Region" in between. Everywhere rainfall is reliable and high, averaging at least 100 inches annually[1], and this amply compensates for a certain poverty and misuse of the soil, although (and particularly in the Central Region) it brings dangers of soil erosion. Except in the highest parts the banana is the staple food, supported by maize, beans, finger millet and groundnuts. In the Northern Highlands coffee has become well established as the principal cash crop; in the Lake Plains paddy rice cultivation provides both a food and a cash crop; in the Central Region the country is too low generally for coffee and too high and dry for rice; consequently cash-cropping is considerably inferior and the people's standard of living is rather poorer.

The Nyakyusa and their country tended for a long time to be relatively isolated from the outside world by high mountain walls and rain-soaked roads. In addition, or because of it perhaps, they developed an almost unique culture which was supported by considerable conservatism and high insularity. They still continue to regard their African neighbours beyond the mountains as their social and cultural inferiors. The turmoil of the slave-trade in Central Africa passed them by; in modern times they have met enthusiastically accepted Christianity and they have refused to take up the use of Swahili, the Territorial *lingua franca*. In recent years, and most especially since the end of World War II, they have, however, accepted and pushed forward with vigour a rapid and extensive economic development, involving particularly the production of coffee and paddy as cash crops, and large-scale labour migration to the south in the high-wage mining industries. The multiplicity of petty, often tiny, independent chiefdoms has been reorganized to provide four local government areas, each under a Rural Council, in which the old chiefdoms have become something like parishes[2]. Although much of the old conservatism and narrow parochialism persists, yet there is now an atmosphere of accepted change, of a keen desire for economic development, and a general acceptance of a cash economy.

Probably the most significant feature of modern life in the Nyakyusa country is the increasing scarcity of land for agriculture in relation to the

1. At Tukuyu, in the Northern Highlands, annual rainfall averaged 99.33 inches between 1919 and 1952; at Kyela, in the Lake Plains, the average between 1940 and 1951 was 106.31 inches.
2. See Kingdon, E.R.: The extension of a measure of local government to African rural councils in the Rungwe District, Tanganyika; *The Journal of African Administration*, III, 4, October, 1951.

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955)1958 FNI7 Ngoude FNI7
Nyakyusa

the river in spots during the wet season, although here and there a few plots have cultivated on slightly raised ground. Similarly in Kapogi village, Kaswiri's chiefdom, some parts are heavily inundated by the Kiwira river. In both these cases flooding has made unstable ground which was cultivated and even built on a generation ago; the degree of annual flooding seems to be decreasing again now so that very slowly a certain amount of new land is becoming available. This cyclical change appears to be directly connected with the long-term rise and fall of the level of Lake Nyasa. On the other hand, in more fortunate villages such as Ikoto, Mwakyusa's chiefdom, and Kapogi, Mwamasangula's chiefdom, there is rather more common pasturage remaining, and village sites, paths, etc., are noticeably less restricted.

The following arithmetical observations may be noted as permitting, perhaps, some guide to population densities in the Lake Plains:-

Persons per sq. mile	*Total acreage per family of five*	*Arable holding per family of five if proportion of total land under arable holdings is:—*	
		one-third	*two-fifths*
300	10.7	3.5	4.3
400	8	2.7	3.2
500	6.4	2.1	2.6
600	5.3	1.8	2.1

(N.B. The statistically average family is composed of five people)

It has been suggested by the Agricultural Field Officer, Tukuyu, that for the whole of Rungwe District perhaps 30 per cent. of all land is under cultivation. He was not prepared to place any reliance on this figure, and certainly for the Lake Plains it must be higher.

To summarise my own tentative conclusions and in order to obtain some kind of picture of the current land situation, I suggest the following division into regions:-

A. The flood plains proper

1. **Very high-density region** - the arable land available under present conditions amounts to about 1½-2 acres per adult male and the local density of population is probably in the region of 500 persons per square mile; - in most of the chiefdoms of Mwanalema, Kerewo and Lazarus, the south-eastern part of Mwakipesile's and the eastern part of Mwakyusa's chiefdoms.

2. **High-density region** - there is available about 3 acres of arable land per adult male and the local density of population is between 300 and 400 persons per square mile; - in the chiefdoms of Mwamasangula, Mwanyila and Mwakilima, the southern part of Mwakilasa's, the centre of Mwakyusa's and much of Mwandemutir's chiefdoms.

B. The remainder of the Lake Plains (Ufipa)

3. **Low-density region** - here there remains much vacant land (some usable, some scarcely usable) and population density is probably little over 100 persons per square mile, and even lower than that in the most northerly parts; - the northern, higher areas comprising the north of Mwakyusa's (Mwinda's) chiefdom, the remainder of Mwandemutir's, the whole of Mwanisipalo's, Mwakatundu's and Mwakipegi's chiefdoms, together with the northern part of Mwakipesile's and of Mwakilasa's chiefdoms.

This summary description is, and can be, only very approximate, taking no account of the complexity of local variations to be seen on the ground. It is illustrated in the accompanying sketch-map.

It may be emphasised that in the two high-density regions practically all available land is in use. In the "high-density region" (No. 2 above) it may be possible to reduce slightly the non-productive areas taken up by village sites, but nowhere will this be easy or even desirable, and already most of the vacant spaces between houses are packed with banana groves, small

Hi:Gulliver E-1 (1954-1955) 1954 FNG7 Ngende FNG7
Nyakyusa

plots of maize, squashes, tobacco, etc., and useful trees (bamboo, citrus, mango, kapok, sycamore and firewood). Artificial drainage would, of course, make more land available along the rivers, but this is so general beyond the abilities and resources of the Nyakyusa without considerable outside assistance.

Finally, in this matter it is to be remembered that in addition to a man's arable holding, each of his wives has a banana plot at her house from which she obtains her staple foodstuff. Such plots amount to perhaps about a tenth of an acre on the average. On the other hand, the Nyakyusa are no longer prepared to tolerate a predominantly banana diet. Rice has, in most areas of the Lake Plains, become almost as important as bananas.

Large-sized Holdings

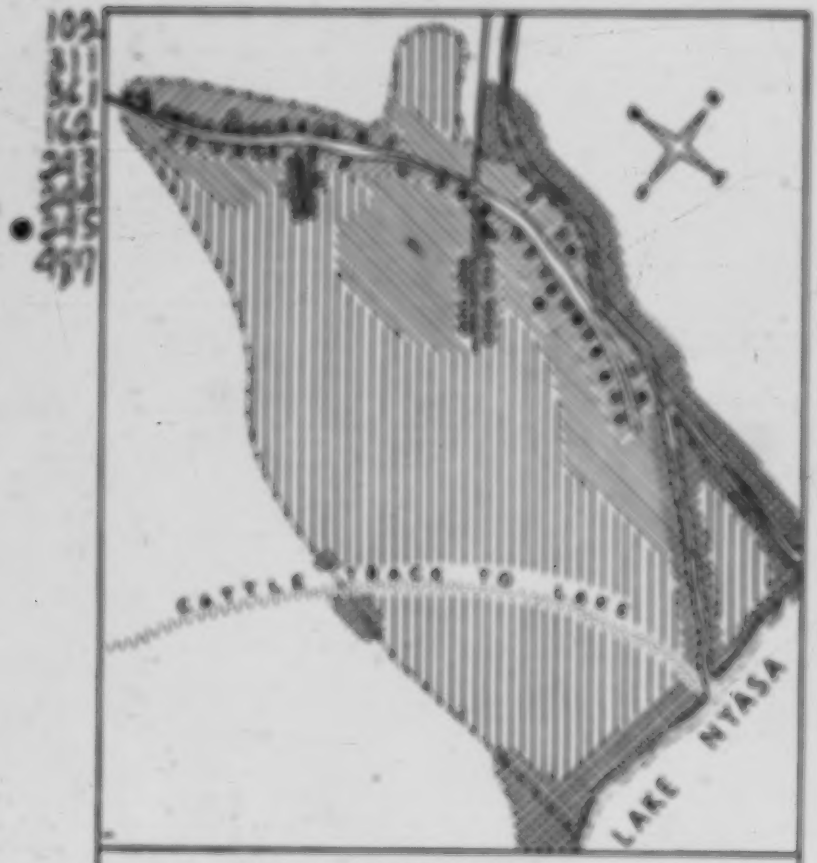
Some blame for this novel shortage of land and the smallness of the average holding has often been laid upon that minority of Nyakyusa who have exceptionally large holdings, and also upon the immigrants from beyond the Lake Plains who have come to settle there during the past decade.

The occupiers of large-sized holdings are rather fewer than has sometimes been supposed. The notoriety of large land-owners, such as some of the modern chiefs with as much as 25-30 acres, has brought more attention to them than is really warranted. Most chiefs and village headmen have arable holdings of above average size, as a result of their privileged positions in the land allocation system and because of their prestige influence; but they remain a small minority and their number is bound to decrease in the future as inheritance causes sub-division of their holdings, for most of them have also more than the average number of wives and sons. In the two high-density regions it is clearly impossible for any man much to increase his present holding. As will be shown later (see page 26) the modern trend is not unnaturally towards a dangerous fragmentation of holdings.

The data obtained in this matter for my eight village samples are summarized in Table III, page 15. In those villages the two men out of 372 who held more than ten acres were a village headman and the father of a chief.[1] There were seven other headmen and one chief as well as some other locally influential men amongst the people covered by my surveys, but none of them held more than ten acres. There are, of course, some commoners amongst the large land-holders; many of them are close relatives of the chief or headman and have thus received preferential treatment. Some, however, are ordinary villagers who were perspicacious enough to see future trends and to obtain land in the early days before most men realized its new value and when vacant areas were still easily available. Such men are tending to become a new, wealthy class, but on the other hand they are particularly susceptible to the begging of kinsmen and friends who have insufficient land. If they are not to be regarded as unneighbourly or even anti-social (perhaps practising witchcraft) they are virtually compelled to be generous sometimes, both with their land and with their profits.

On the whole this minority of men excites little attention or jealousy among the Nyakyusa, who indeed take it for granted that their chiefs and headmen will have more land than ordinary villagers, as befits their status and prestige. If it be thought that by reducing somehow the size and number of these unusually large holdings then the land shortage might be partly relieved, it is a false hope. I scarcely think that the Nyakyusa would welcome any such attempt at interference by administrative action, but in any case it would only provide minor and temporary relief here and there and would not be worth the executive difficulties involved.

1. This second man should be a chief himself but he was dismissed by Government on his imprisonment for peculation. He still holds much of the prestige and privilege of a chief for he can in many informal matters in purely local government affairs.



SKETCH PLAN OF KAPUGI VILLAGE
KOROSOS CHIEFDOM 1955

-REFERENCE-

[Facing p. 29]

McCall/Grove E-6 (1954-1955) 1954 F917 Ngoode F917
Nyakyusa

land to him. Young men compete with one another, with their older brothers and with their fathers for allocations of land left vacant. We also saw however, that often in the larger families not all the sons are able to get a share of the paternal holding, or at least not a share of practicable size. These younger sons are forced to resort to trying to obtain vacant land elsewhere - probably within the same village, but as often as not outside. Finally, the young man on his own building only find his neighbours to be of any age; certainly they will not have been members of his own original coeval hamlet.

The way for this changing concept of village life and the new sort of village was prepared in the years before land shortage became important. The changed political system has been briefly noted already, but no less important was the great increase in inter-village movement in earlier European days when peace and personal security had been established. During this period Wilson (1938, page 32) reckoned that perhaps 80 per cent. of Nyakyusa shifted at least once from the place where they first obtained fields. This estimate, while perhaps holding good for Highland Nyakyusa amongst whom Wilson mainly worked, was too high for the people of the Lake Plains, where about 40 per cent. is more correct according to my genealogical and village surveys. There is still a relatively high degree of mobility for a mainly subsistence, peasant society such as it was in those years. It is clear that the pseudo-fraternal bond of coevality could not persist as a main element of village life and consciousness, when in fact as many as half of the members of a village were not original coeval founders but had come in from elsewhere. Before the land shortage, movements did not entail the shifting of young men to other young men's villages, or of older men to other older men's villages. It was, at least eventually, promiscuous movement, ignoring age categories. The compulsions of land shortage were, in retrospect, only to have followed existing lines of village development and to have begun the completion of the process.

In the Lake Plains, therefore, the village persists as a close, territorial, land-owning group and as a specific cluster of homesteads and huts, usually with a village street, the whole closely honoured in by continuous banana groves. Beyond this lie the arable lands, usually food-crop fields nearby and paddy fields further off. In jealously protecting what it already holds, the village has gained a new exclusiveness, for the security of the individual land-holder is maintained by the corporate ownership of the village and by excluding outsiders as far as possible. On the other hand, it is no longer an age-village either in fact or intention, and it cannot be, for age-villages were consistent only with an expanding territorial system and a subsistence economy.

This brief analysis of Nyakyusa village organization in recent times applies only to the Lake Plains. In some parts of both the Central Region and the Northern Highlands the age-basis of Nyakyusa villages had most probably already been seriously weakened in pre-European times.[1] On the other hand, elsewhere, and particularly in the more conservative parts less affected by modern trends and the cash economy, the traditional age-village still exists in something like its old form.

Land shortage has appeared in the Highlands together with a developing cash economy, but the basis of agricultural and economic change has been mainly in shifting cultivation which, of course, requires relatively smaller fields than does paddy in the Lake Plains, but it needs more care and attention from the grower for moderate success. As far as I could see in the course of

1. Perhaps it was the more compact the older and more stable-aged area, and therefore a factor often [illegible] in Ukuku.
2. According to oldish informants in Ntokela, Mwakaleli and some coastal chiefdoms, and also the evidence of old village sites.

M:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955)1958 F'817 Ngundo F'817
Nyakyusa

311 any earlier labour migration enquiries in the Highlands, the village as a close
933 residential unit is breaking up as the people are increasingly adopting the
945 more common East African pattern of each family building its own home-
stead in its own land-holding. These northern Nyakyusa say that they must
have their coffee plots next to their homesteads for the sake of continuous
supervision, and that this is impossible (which is true enough) where men live
close together in compact villages. Again, coffee plots, with their standing,
permanent trees, have become a valuable item of inheritance; sons lose no
opportunity of taking them irrespective of the locations of their cowives or
of the identity of their immediate neighbours. The values of land, cash-crops
and material progress are placed much higher than the traditional values of
conviviality; indeed, such traditional values are largely inconsistent with modern
wants and aspirations.

SC1 Thus the Nyakyusa age-village has become almost obsolete and is
SC1 would seem that it must inevitably vanish altogether even in the remaining
198 conservative areas (e.g., in the east). Furthermore, its disappearance is
leading to a distinct divergence between the Lake Plains Nyakyusa and those
of the Highlands. How far this divergence will become permanent and
basically significant cannot be foreseen as yet in this early stage. Clearly
the compact village is best fitted to an arable economy of rice cultivation
in the Lake Plains, and at least until there is further agricultural change it
will persist as a most important social group.

Nevertheless, with its enhanced exclusiveness and relative social isolation
and with reserved rivalry with its neighbours, the Lake Plains village is
scarcely conducive to the encouragement of agricultural and economic
development. Neither is it anything but harmful towards contemporary
efforts in the politico-administrative sphere to reduce parochialism and to
foster a sense of unity and co-operation beyond the village and the petty
traditional chiefdoms. Whilst supervisory control of the land through the
685 headman is in general excellent, reasonable and readily understandable
152 to the people, yet the excess of restrictiveness, the competitive scrambling
182 for vacated holdings and the jealous fears are surely more than merely
unfortunate. There needs to be some modification to loosen the over-tight
strings of village corporate ownership, to regularise the transfer of vacated
holdings and to lessen the fears of village against village. These points are
taken up again in Chapter V.

Cattle and Pastoral Requirements

311 Unfortunately, no great accuracy can be presumed for the Rungwe
933 District cattle censuses, but the available figures are summarised in Table VI.

TABLE VI
NYAKYUSA CATTLE

	1935				1955	
	No. of cattle	*Acres per head*	*Cattle per person*	*Cattle per family of 5*	*No. of cattle*	*Acres per head*
Lake Plains	31,418	4.1	0.5	2.5	26,822	4.8
Central Region ..	19,380	7.1	0.4	2	19,180	7.2
N.E. Highlands ..	19,095	7.4	0.4	2	17,165	8.4
N.W. Highlands ..	22,974	8.0	0.4	2	14,831	10.9
Total:						
Nyakyusa.. ..	92,867	6.4	0.4	2	80,002	7.2

The indicated increase in the numbers of cattle may well be attributable only to improved census enumeration by the Veterinary Department.

Although 6.4 acres per head of cattle for all Nyakyusa country, and even 4.1 acres in the Lake Plains, might seem to be adequate in a country so

10;Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955)1958 F'817 Ngonde F'817
Nyakyusa

of the father. The old principle that every man had the right to arable land applied no less strongly to the young man, married or bachelor. Today most headmen will refuse to entertain the applications of young bachelors for land, and in this they merely represent general public opinion. But many young husbands likewise cannot obtain land, or only an insufficient amount.

Consequently, the following case-history, which I recorded for one young man, is not unusual. In 1949 he lived in the Ikhangali young-men's kanda, attached to Mpengani village in Mwaikipesile's chiefdom, where his father lives. He was about 27 years old and had a wife and one child. Twice he had been to work in the mines and from the profits of this employment he had completed his bridewealth payment and had bought, in addition, three cattle, a bicycle and some good clothing. He thought he would probably go away again. Behind his house his wife had about 300 square yards of bananas and there was a tiny patch of cassava. This man had no other land, but he assisted in the heavy labour on his father's holding (about 1.7 acres in all) and by family convention he normally took for his own use the paltry crop of a small strip there; he insisted, however, that he had not been given this strip outright and that it remained at his father's pleasure. He had an unmarried half-brother about 22 years old who had not circumcised even that convention at the time. Their father was about 55 years old and had two other sons who were still boys. The young man himself had been refused an allocation of land by the headman on the grounds that (as the headman well knew) he had the use of this strip of his father's land, and also because, as the eldest son, he would be the principal heir on his father's death. He was clearly worried about his future, for he did not wish to go abroad again and leave his wife and child; but he did not see how he could stay at home without seriously lowering his standard of living to little above subsistence level.

I quote this brief case-history not necessarily as typical – though I think it probably is – but as an actual illustration of the poorest state of affairs as they affect an individual.

The Modern "Chief" and the Land

Most of the traditional chiefs, *abanyafyale*, have been recognised and salaried under the Native Authority, and they are officially referred to today as *abatwe* (s. *mwe*). Some of the smallest chiefdoms have been absorbed administratively by their larger neighbours, and, although they are still recognised by the people, their *abanyafyale* have lost very much of their earlier prestige and authority. In the Lake Plains the modern chiefdoms are often rather larger than is usual amongst the Nyakyusa,[1] but they are, of course, small in comparison with the size of most African chiefdoms in Tanganyika.

The slightness of the traditional authority of the chief in land matters has already been noted (pages 7-8) and in general this still holds. In European times, however, the recognised chiefs have been given an increased authority and prestige as the local intermediaries between Government and people, and until recent years they were almost the only local instruments of the Government amongst the Nyakyusa. They have been backed by the all-powerful European, who preferred to deal with single, recognised individuals thought to have prime authority in a locality, and the European officer has been encouraged in this notion by an over-enthusiastic policy of indirect rule. Such chiefs were able to assume a degree of power well beyond the traditional limits, and to aggrandize themselves thereby. The ordinary commoner was never quite sure how far his chief was individually claiming more than he

1. On the numerical size of chiefdoms see supra, page 6.

245 Bananas and plantains are grown all over the district except in the highlands to the north and west. Numerous local varieties abound, with a red plantain and the *Sukari* variety of banana as recent introductions, and are used exclusively for food, no beer being made. They are mostly dried and pounded with pestle and mortar to be used as flour, although they are also eaten whole after roasting.

244 Sweet potatoes are extensively grown. They are planted on contoured ridges from 3-4 feet high. Planting distances vary from 6 inches to 1 foot in either direction. They are planted in March to May and north of Tukuyu take eight months to mature, but south of that place four months is sufficient. Sweet potatoes are eaten boiled or roasted.

243 Finger millet is used more for beer-making than for food. It is always sown broadcast in November to January and harvested in March to May. The land is first hand-hoed and all grass put into heaps and burnt when dry. In the highlands to the west the trees are lopped and branches piled in heaps to be burnt. Contoured ridges are put in at intervals depending on the slope of the land. The harvesting is carried out just before the grain is ripe by cutting off the heads and stacking in the field while ripening proceeds. The heads are then collected into large baskets and steeped in water for a day, after which they are taken out and rubbed with the hands to separate the grain from the chaff. The millet is then dried and stored in earthenware pots or mud-covered baskets until required. It is reported that it can be stored for five or six years by this method, but I have not verified this personally.

244 Beans are nearly always interplanted with maize or sown in banana plantations and the local seed is of mixed varieties. They are eaten boiled as a relish with other food such as maize. The leaves are also eaten dried or fresh.

245 Groundnuts are grown in the medium and lower altitudes. Planted in November to February and harvested in April to July, they are dried in the shell and eaten raw.

243 Rice is grown on the lake shore and also in the neighbouring foothills. It is sown broadcast in November to February and harvested in May to August. Yields are not high in the foothills, being about 6-7 bags of paddy to the acre. Many local varieties are grown, such as Musafiri, Mwangulu, and Marula. The hill rice is eaten boiled, but most is sold hand-hulled in the markets for purely local consumption.

241 Other foodstuffs grown are coco-yams, cow peas, pigeon peas, Bambarra groundnuts, ginger, cardamon, groundnuts, wheat, pumpkins, peppers, citrus, sugar cane and European vegetables, including a quantity of European potatoes.
[177]

Economic Crops

246 *One of the main cash crops is coffee, which*
177 *was introduced about 1900 by the Berlin Lutheran Mission, but it was not grown by natives until 1930 when an attempt was made to organize an industry. It had already been tried from 1924 onwards by Europeans but had gradually died out, giving place to tea.*

245 *Native coffee has not been truly successful and many reasons are suspected for this. In effect, the coffee suffers from many pests and diseases and yields are so low as to be almost uneconomical even to a tribe of very low individual annual income.* It has become obvious that coffee can only be grown by natives if shaded by bananas and mulched heavily with banana trash." Multiple-stem pruning is gaining favour.

Seedlings are planted out in December and the first crop is obtained four years after. The area planted rose in 1939 to 5,864 acres and the number of native planters to 7,966. Yields, however, are low, varying from 131.4 kg. to 20.4 kg. parchment to the acre. Hemeleia leaf disease and yellow and white borer are prevalent all over the coffee-growing area. Over the period since 1932 the price paid to natives has averaged 44 cents a kg. for parchment.
[136]

[438] All coffee is collected and sold by Native Authority after rough grading and, in order to
[432] encourage better preparation, much lower payments are made for the inferior grades. A native staff is employed to visit coffee plots and to give instructions, and it is noticeable that the quality of preparation varies with the price.

175 The cultivation of rice on the lake shore was started by Chief Koroso in 1896 with seed
243 obtained from Arab traders in Nyasaland and the Moravian Mission issued further seed in 1898. Being an innovation, rice was not popular and little was grown except for small
[65] local sales. In 1917 the Government issued seed and tax was paid in rice instead of money. Interest was hereby aroused and the cultivation of rice was started. In 1932 several other kinds
243 of seed were issued and now sixteen varieties are found. "Faya", which was issued in 1929, gives the best yields and is the variety chiefly grown, other varieties being Bungala, Marula

12: Biegaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
Chagga FN4
Haya FN8

House-types of the Banyakyusa

By Agnete Bjørnaard

During a stay in the Southern Highlands in Tanganyika in 1955, I was given the opportunity to inspect—and draw plans of—some of the houses belonging to the local Bantu tribe of the Nyakyusa. In literature they are known also under the name of Konde.

The district in which they live is fairly high above sea level and near the borders of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; the rainfall is fully adequate. Banana and coffee are doing well—the banana trees often forming groves in between which you catch a glimpse of the village houses.

The district invites comparison with other localities in Tanganyika where the country is high, and where precipitation is plentiful. Such localities would be the districts around Kilimanjaro and near Bukoba to the west of Lake Victoria. In the former live the Chagga tribe, in the latter the tribe of the Haya. Even here banana and coffee are plenty—and the I.Q. of both tribes is said to be high, as is the case of the Banyakyusa (plural of Nyakyusa).

Maybe you might therefore expect to find a corresponding standard of dwelling-houses, perhaps even the same type of hut. But in this matter you will be highly surprised; so great are the differences between the three areas. Apart from the original design of the house being round and the roof thatched, no similarity exists between the various houses or their interior lay-outs.

The round, thatched Chagga hut has its roof all way down to the ground. It is not very large and the interior lay-out is quite primitive. A cow or goat lives all its life indoors and is fed there. A short and uncomfortable bed is found near by. Down the centre of the floor is a stone-paved aisle. Everything looks quite simple—especially when you remember that in other aspects the Chagga are quite advanced in their use of modern facilities; for instance they use electricity for the grinding of their maize.

The Haya hut—the old, round type—is a really magnificent thing. I think its centre is seven or eight metres high. In front it has a kind of overhang, maybe you might call it a front room, where people will sit, and where guests will be received. If you are a welcome guest, a straw mat will be rolled out to cover the grass flooring of the hut. The walls of the front room are solid plates made from a kind of reed. The hearth is placed near the centre of the inner room.